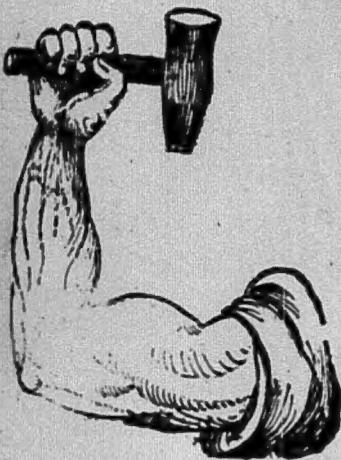


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VOL. VIII.—NO. 10.



The People.

NEW YORK, JUNE 5, 1898.

PRICE 2 CENTS.

1. The nomination of the following

TICKET:

For Governor,
GEORGE R. PEARCE,
of Lynn.

For Lieutenant Governor,
MICHAEL T. BERRY,
of Haverhill.

For Secretary of State,
J. F. STEPHENS,
of Boston.

For State Treasurer,
MARTHA M. AVERY,
of Boston.

For Attorney General,
CLARENCE E. SPELMAN,
of Westfield.

For State Auditor,
JOSEPH M. PALME,
JOSEPH PALME,
of New Bedford.

The party's candidate for Governor, George R. Pearce, was born May 13, 1847, in Halifax, N. S., while his parents were on a visit to the Provinces from Alexandria, Va., their home; came to Massachusetts the same year; stopped there for some time, journeying to Columbia, South Carolina. The family came North shortly before the war, residing in Lawrence and Boston during the Civil War; at which place George attended school and Comers College in Boston; after graduating at that institution he went to Chicago and attended Eastman's College in that city.

Mr. Pearce is a draughtsman and machinist; from an experience in the McKay factory in Lawrence he became acquainted with the McKay machine, and during the dull times and panic of 1873 he came to Lynn and worked as a McKay sticher.

He was a member of Local Assembly 715, Knights of Labor. After the big strike in Lynn he was a member of the old Stitches' Union and later the Sole Fasteners' Union.

In 1885 he joined the Socialist Labor party, and has been a hard and constant worker for the party since that time; was candidate for Lieutenant Governor in 1891, when the party first entered the field in Massachusetts; later he was a candidate for Congress against Henry Cabot Lodge, in the Seventh district.

In 1872 he was married to Sarah Slade, of Winsted, Vermont; his family, consisting of three grown-up sons and a daughter attending school, now live on Essex street, Lynn.

2. By far the subject that brought out the best intellectual abilities, legislative usefulness and oratorical powers of the delegates was that relative to the

SOCIALIST TRADE & LABOR ALLIANCE.

the debate upon which occupied nearly all the forenoon of Monday, the 30th of May. This debate was made all the more interesting by the appearance of Secretary Carter, of Lesters' Union No. 32, of Lynn, and member of the Lynn Local Alliance of the S. T. & L. A., who asked the privilege of the floor on behalf of the S. T. & L. A. The privilege was accorded by unanimous consent. After his well-grounded address the following resolutions were adopted with hardly a dissenting vote:

"WHEREAS, In the stage of industrial development, known as the manufacturing period, the old trade guilds and organizations, in which master and man protected themselves against the aggressions of feudal lords, have now necessarily evolved with a higher form of the class struggle in which the man, no longer an artisan selling the product of his labor, but a wage slave, selling his labor power, while the master no longer works at his craft, but has evolved into the holder of great aggregations of capital, the class struggle now presents hostility directly between the wage slaves and the capitalist class.

"The by-gone advantage with the strike, boycott and label as weapons of offence and defence, suited as they were to subjects under despotic governments, are not a force sufficient to enable men living under a higher form of industrial development to gain redress or to obtain advancement. Be it therefore

"RESOLVED, That an appeal be sent by the Socialist Labor party to the trades organizations throughout the Commonwealth setting forth the class struggle, its historic development and the opportunity now afforded to the working class for emancipation from the degradation of servility and poverty to the natural rights of citizens, the cooperative ownership of all the means of production and the benefits of science and cultivation of the arts by the reorganization of trades unions under the principles of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, which recognizes that the working class must become the ruling class; be it further

"RESOLVED, That the Socialist Labor party send speakers to the trades unions to speak in support of this appeal."

3. Action on the

DEBS DEMOCRACY.

This was brought on by the reading from the Chair of an invitation from that "Democracy" in Massachusetts to fuse with it. While the reading of the invitation was going on, a hum of undisturbed conversation and merriment went through the Convention. The invitation was referred to a special committee with instructions to frame a reply. In a few days it will be sent as a message of light and education to those of the Debs movement who are in it simply out of blindness.

It should here be added that the epistle inviting the party to fuse contained among other signatures that of "Konikow"—a woman whose conduct was found out to be so unclean in the party of this State, while she was an officer thereof, that, although she had withdrawn, the Convention felt constrained to brand her by officially expelling her, as will be seen by the re-

port of the Convention on the fourth page under internal official matters.

In this connection should also be mentioned that a long letter was read to the Convention by Morris E. Rutherford, secretary of the State Committee, addressed to him recently by one Kellher, secretary of the Social Democracy of "America and Patagonia," in which the writer said his (Rutherford's) name had been given him as one most fitted to take up the work of organizing the Social Democracy in Holyoke and vicinity, and pointing out that power was about to fall into their hands if the friends of the "cause" would but reach out their hand to pluck it, if indeed that were necessary, as there was a man up the tree of power to shake the ripe fruit into the laps of all who would but stand under the tree of Social Democracy. Rutherford denounced the communication as a base attempt to bribe the highest officer of the S. L. P. in Massachusetts, which he spurned with indignation.

PENNSYLVANIA STATE CONVENTION.

The Socialist Labor party State Convention met in S. S. Pittsburgh yesterday and lasted two days. Its important public official acts were:

1. The nomination of the following

TICKET:

For Governor,
J. MAHLON BARNES,
of Philadelphia.

For Lieutenant Governor,
W. H. THOMAS,
of Buena Vista.

For Congressmen at Large,
DONALD L. MUNRO,
of Durkso.

JOHN R. ROOT,
of Pittsburgh.

For Judges of Superior Court,
DR. B. B. LEVENGOOD,
of Belwood.

2. Action was taken on the

S. T. & L. A.

by the adoption of a resolution to issue a manifesto to the working class, which is to be circulated throughout the State, urging the workingmen to identify themselves with the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance.

3. The consideration of a

PLAN OF CAMPAIGN,

which resulted in a resolution to send an agitator especially through the coal-mining regions.

In view of the splendid results of the special election in New Bedford, the following passage from a speech delivered there by Comrade Hickey the night before election, and reproduced in the New Bedford "Evening Standard" will be found interesting:

"This old world of ours is a world of change. Life is inseparable from motion. The rude blasts of Boreas that blows across the New England hills in the gray dawn of a winter's morning changes to the gentle breezes of balmy spring. The hot winds of a torrid summer's day changes to the cooling zephyrs of our glorious fall. As the seasons change so does our industrial system. Franklin's old font of type is now in the museums. In its place we have the Mergenthaler linotype setting machine. The old spinning wheel of our grandmother's days has passed away. Instead we have the Northrup loom. No longer do we hear the clang of the hammer on the anvil in the old village blacksmith's shop. Instead we have the mighty trip hammer, with its thousand ton force, Fulton's old steam engine that used to run up and down on the Hudson is supplanted by the mighty engines that annihilate space in their passage across the Atlantic. The little old red school house, with its dozen scholars, is no longer a delight to the eye. We now have the mighty public school, where a thousand children sing their matin songs. Everywhere is seen life, change and motion, except in the old British pure and simple trades union. There labor sings the same old battle song that it sang in the valleys of Lancashire 100 years ago. As a result we have a New Bedford strike with its reconnoitering wretchedness, where the strikers pit a soup house against a palace. A strike in which the workers pit the pennies in their tattered pants' pockets against the masses of millions of the capitalist class. They stand still. They change not with the changing times. They suffer and die. Against this condition of affairs the Socialist new trades unionist raises aloft the banner of revolt. He says 'keep abreast of times and victory will be your reward.'

"Vote yourselves on the right side of the policeman's clubs and the militiaman's bayonets. Put yourselves behind the ermine of the judges on the bench. Then, and not until then, will the sunlight of success shine on your banners, and shining thus, reflect the future freedom of our class."

The English translation of Karl Marx' "Eighteenth Brumaire," that recently ran through THE PEOPLE, is now to be had bound in an elegant volume of 78 pages, with Marx' picture as frontispiece. This work is of great value. No Socialist, even though he be no student, and no student even though he be no Socialist, can afford to be without it. Apply Labor News Co., 64 E. 4th street, N. Y. city. Price 25 cents.

The receipt of a sample copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

FRENCH COMRADES.

Interesting Features of the Recent French Elections.

In Default of Complete Information, the Below Data Will Serve to Give Some Preliminary Idea of the Nature of the Campaign and of the Brilliant Victory Won by Socialism—Fuller Facts Later.

BILL-POSTING SKIRMISHES.

A few details of the election may be interesting. Let us first go to Paris.

It is customary for a candidate for the Chamber of Deputies to make a canvass of his district, get as many supporters as possible, then print bills announcing his candidacy, the names of his supporters appearing thereon, and post up the bills wherever a wall could be found. The government candidates (including the Republicans, Opportunists, Clericals, etc.) got the idea that the more names there appeared on the placards of its candidates the more certain would be the election of those candidates. In pursuance of this idea names were taken at haphazard, no matter whether they were supporters of the aforesaid candidates or not. In the First district of the Thirteenth arrondissement the Socialist candidate was Gerault-Richard, while the capitalist candidate was Paul Bernard. When Bernard's placards were posted about five hundred names were printed thereon as his supporters. Many of those names were the names of Socialists, who were ardent in their support of Gerault-Richard. Protests began to accumulate. The protester was always told that there was another man in that district with his name, and that the other man was the one referred to on the placard. The protester would hasten to the address given him by the agent of Bernard, but it universally happened that the other man was a myth. Now the First district of the Thirteenth arrondissement is thoroughly Socialist, and, true to their class-consciousness, if the workingmen discover that a tradesman is supporting the anti-Socialist he is forthwith boycotted. When Bernard's placards were posted, he had among the names of his supporters that of Victor Lucy, a hater of the Avenue des Gobelins. Mr. Lucy protested, but in spite of his protests his name continued to appear on Bernard's bills. Consequently Mr. Lucy armed himself with a blue pencil and proceeded to scratch off his name whenever he found it. He was immediately arrested by the police and taken before the police judge, where charges of defacing the bills were preferred against him. In vain did Mr. Lucy contend that the lawbreakers were those who used his name without his permission; in vain did he affirm that because of such use of his name his customers were leaving him; all this did no good, and the charges stood. The same night all over Gerault-Richard's district the posters announcing his candidacy were covered with large strips of paper bearing the inscriptions: "Vendu aux Juifs!"

"Sold out to the Jews." And the police officers did not make an arrest. It should be understood in this connection that the chief of police of Paris is appointed by the general government, and that the entire police force of Paris is under him, and hence can be used by the general government.

Deprived by the police and the courts of the right to prevent their names being published in support of the capitalist candidates, the men who had this unwelcome publicity forced upon them had recourse to the Socialist press, and every day numbers of cards like the following were printed:

"For the first time the Socialists have agreed on the fundamental principles of the movement. Wherever our candidates have appeared to talk to the people they have not simply attacked the political form of government and the Cabinet ministers, but everywhere and with a unanimous voice they have attacked the capitalist system and declared for the change to the Socialist system. Read the declarations of the candidates of the Socialist Labor party, and it will be found that these three propositions are the key notes of the Socialists in the present campaign: Conquest of the powers of government by the proletariat; international union of the working class; abolition of the capitalist system of production, in favor of the Socialist Commonwealth."

"FRENCH CAPITALIST PAPERS' COMMENTS.

And it should be remembered that this solidarity has been accomplished amidst the most trying circumstances. There was a coalition of all the forces of capitalism, backed up by the capitalist government, to keep down the Socialist vote. How well this coalition succeeded may be learned by extracts from the capitalist press of Paris. The "Gaulois," the organ of the Clericals, says:

"The most important fact of the election is the formidable gain made by the Socialists. They at least have no complaints to make as to the results of the struggle, no matter if they did lose a couple of their leaders."

The "Temps," the especial guardian of the capitalist class, says:

"The Socialist Labor party is the only party that can claim to have made any gains."

The "Siecle," the most venomous of all the capitalist papers of Paris, says:

"Because Guesde and Jaurès have been defeated, many superficial reasoners are exclaiming that Socialism was defeated on the 8th of May. This exclamation has no facts back of it. From the latest returns the Socialists have at least one million votes to their credit. At the election of 1893 the Socialist Labor party polled 665,033 votes, which makes a gain in five years of about 335,000. Our statesmen of the Meline stamp are saying to themselves in astonishment: We gave rigid instructions to the prefects of every department, and yet the Socialist vote has increased."

THE COALITION.

Reference has been made to the coalition of all the anti-Socialist forces. In a recent article Jaurès refers to this in these words:

"For the first time in twenty-five years the capitalist government and the Church have come to an understanding. It is well known that from 1876 to the present, the Republican party has fought the Church—the Church moved outside of the Republic, and therefore the Church was fought. But menaced by the revolutionary declarations of Socialism, the wealthy followers of Voltaire and the Children of the Cross have become reconciled, and Socialism meets a formidable enemy in the coalition of the government, the money changers, the upper strata of the middle class, the large property holders, and the Church. Possibly this coalition may have the immediate effect of stopping, or at least reducing, the apparent growth or visible progress of Socialism in France, and without doubt two or three elections will be necessary to thoroughly undermine this coalition."

"And this coalition showed itself in every district in France where the Socialists had considerable strength. In districts where the regular capitalist and government candidate was sure to

be defeated under ordinary circumstances, the Church itself placed candidates in the field, and the followers of the meek and lowly Nazarene were heard in meeting after meeting exhorting the workingmen to vote for the Clerical candidate. But the coalition only succeeded in defeating Jaurès and Guesde. In those districts the Socialist candidates bit the dust, though their vote increased, but elsewhere both the Socialist vote increased and the candidates were successful.

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"A. BRIARD, 4 Rue Copely."

In the Eighteenth arrondissement Leguë was running as a Clerical against the Socialist Rouanet. One of the men whose name was printed on Leguë's bills had this card published:

"I, the undersigned, a doctor at No. 16 Rue Hermel, Paris, protest

against my name being used as a supporter of the candidacy of Leguë. I hereby declare that all my sympathies are with Gustave Rouanet, the Socialist candidate for re-election, for whom I have voted before."

"Dr. G. OLLIVIER."

A still more striking illustration of this capitalist bulldozing occurred in Gerault-Richard's district.

After the election of the 8th of May a new election was necessary, neither Gerault-Richard nor Bernard having secured a majority over all the candidates. During the two weeks that elapsed before the second vote the battle was waged with increased vigor, and on the part of the capitalists with increased brutality. It seems that there is no constitutional or legal determination regarding the apportionment of the walls for posting the bills; but rather that recourse is had to brute force. On the 18th of May Gerault-Richard was passing in front of the Gobelin manufactory, and discovered with a certain degree of anguish that out of two hundred placards that his committee had posted on the wall of the manufactory but three had survived the inundation of bills sown with prodigal hands by the committees backing Bernard; but let me give the incident in the words of the official paper of the French Socialist Labor party:

"While passing in front of the Gobelin manufactory Gerault-Richard discovered with a certain degree of anguish that out of two hundred placards that his committee had posted there were only three left standing. The rest had been torn down by the committees backing Bernard; but let me give the incident in the words of the official paper of the French Socialist Labor party:

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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1868 (Presidential).....	2,000
In 1880.....	15,000
In 1882 (Presidential).....	21,167
In 1884.....	28,123
In 1886 (Presidential).....	** * *
In 1892.....	55,673

Liberty and civilization are only fragments of rights wrong from the strong hands of wealth and book learning; almost all the great truths relating to society were not the result of scholarly meditation, but have been first heard in the solemn protests of martyred patriots and the loud cries of crushed and sterlized Labor.

Wendell Phillips.

REMEMBER THE MAINE!

The strike that broke out on the auxiliary cruiser St. Louis, that ran into this harbor last week for coaling and refitting, places in its true light the cry of "Remember the Maine!" when uttered by our ruling class, that started it.

On the St. Louis, 300 firemen and coal-heavers went on strike not only because of bad treatment in point of food, but on account of worse treatment, cruelty in fact, besides gross ingratitude. One of them, being sick and applying for medical aid, was kicked in the stomach by the officer; all of them had been made to sleep in exceptionally bad bunkers, without cover; and on a certain occasion were ordered to do the most dangerous part of a work for which they had not been engaged, and were then, the work being done, ordered like dogs under the hatches, where the atmosphere was stifling, and where they were kept for days in succession without fresh air.

Yes, "Remember the Maine!"

But there are in that cry as many meanings as the sources from which it proceeds.

In the mouth of the capitalist class that is sending its untrained, shiftless sons into staff positions on our Army of Invasion, the cry has no other object than to turn to their own benefit the humane feelings of our people. It means an attempt of that criminal ruling class to profit by its own wrong. It means an attempt to swell the sails of their pirate raft of state with the feeling of indignation raised in the great heart of the people by, what? by that criminal class' own malfeasance.

In the mouth of the intelligent working class, it is a rallying cry, taken from a striking contemporaneous event, that may be said to sum up the inhumanity of the capitalist system of society. It is a cry that brings in close connection the brutal government of the ruling class of Spain and our own ruling class; the former capable of so dastardly an act as the blowing up, in time of peace, a ship laden with human beings, the latter capable of huddling so many members of the "common people" around powder magazines where explosions are likely; both so reckless of life, of honor, of decency as to be willing to sacrifice untold thousands of their nominal "fellow citizens" in their rush for plunder.

The strike on the St. Louis against the barbarous treatment of workers by officers who represent and are animated by the feelings of our capitalist class is but an incident illustrative of all that there is and should be in the cry:

"Remember the Maine!"

What may be called the "Italian Mystery" continues unsolved.

What is that took place in Italy last month and may not yet be over?

Was it an attempt at a general strike? Or was it a bread riot of infuriated masses driven by famine? Or was it an attempt to overthrow the throne and set up a bourgeois republic? And in this case, did the impulse come from bona fide republicans, or was it the result of a clerical intrigue? Or, yet again, was any of these the starter, some of the others having subsequently combined?

Impossible to tell. All that is known is that deeds of almost unparalleled violence have been committed. The soldiers are said to have massacred, in Milan alone, 7,000 people; in other places the mob, rioters, or revolutionists, got the upper hand, though temporarily only, and wreaked vengeance.

A deep mystery envelops the whole affair, due to the rigid censorship that is observed.

But the truth will out, sooner or later.

POLITICAL and ECONOMIC.

The Washington, D. C., "Times" gives publication to this tell-tale letter from a correspondent who signs himself "Secretary":

"Amid all the war excitement can you find time and space to champion the cause of about twenty wronged individuals, one of whom I am. My case covers all. I was employed by a Congressman to come to Washington as his secretary. I did so, expecting, of course, to receive \$100 a month. I do all, and more, of the official work devolving upon me in a way that excites commendation of this member, and yet he only pays me \$50 a month. Putting the difference in his pocket. When I protested against such treatment I was coolly told, 'If you are

not satisfied I can get plenty who will be glad to do the work for even less, and you can go,' and each month he has deliberately perjured himself by certifying to the Government that he 'had paid \$100 during the past month for clerk hire.' Is there not some way in which this and the other like Congressmen can be meted out their just deserts? There are also some Congressmen who do not employ any secretaries, and yet do not fail to draw out the \$100 a month for that purpose. How does this differ from stealing, and how can any member justify such conduct?"

Pity that "Secretary" does not furnish the name of this worthy Congressman. If he did, it would no doubt point a moral and adorn a tale on "Law," "Order," "Property" and "Patriotism." Ten to one the Congressman in question is among the loudest, flannel-mouthed upholders of all of these.

Bishop Potter is trying hard to understand the labor question, and to get at the minds of workingmen. We do not want to discourage him, but he has still a long road to travel.

"With the sweetest of intentions he says:

"Neither labor nor capital can be on top; they must walk hand in hand."

Any man—even a bishop—who thinks that labor and capital are two different things, is an infant, and understands this world and its problems about as well as a Maltese kitten would understand the Sphinx. Capital is crystallized labor. A dollar is a bushel of wheat or a pair of boots, and a bushel of wheat or a pair of boots is a day's work of one man. A dollar is only valuable because it is a day's work or can procure a day's work—a million dollars are nothing. Capital and labor are the same as ice and water. The capitalist is simply the gentleman who cuts the ice, and stores it away. He will gradually vanish as men get intelligent and labor keeps for itself what it produces.

What Bishop Potter is trying to say is that the man who works and the capitalist who lives on the labor of others are on a par, and ought to go hand in hand. That is rubbish, because the man who produces is above the man who merely consumes. The capitalist person is nothing. The man with money—accumulated human effort—who uses that to encourage and supply further effort, devising new outlets for human energy and new fields for labor, is a very important personality, and well deserves as good a place as can be given to him. But the mere capitalist investor is simply the fat, green worm on the tomato vine, sleek and happy, but not important or useful."

The above farago of sense and nonsense proceeds from the New York "Journal"—the property of a typical "fat, green worm on the tomato vine," and productive of all the social stench that it is in such worms to produce.

The clipping is quite a significant occurrence, all the more so when its source is considered. Let us put it on the dissecting table and apply the scalpel to it. The distinction drawn between "capital" and the "capitalist" is pedantic. He who writes upon these subjects should use words in their accepted technical sense. The same as "sceptre," "throne" have become identical with "monarchic rule," "capital" has become identical with "capitalist." It is absurd to say "the sceptre is a piece of wood, the monarch is a thing of flesh, consequently they are not the same"; so, likewise, it is absurd to say "capital is crystallized labor, the capitalist is a gentleman," etc.

If capital were simply crystallized labor, capital would always exist, even after the capitalist had vanished. But capital is something else than crystallized labor. No sensible man would be satisfied with the definition of "slave" that ran this way: "A slave is a human being." Such a definition would be defective because it would leave out the social essence of "slave," to wit, the PRIVATE OWNERSHIP of that human being. So with "capital." The feature of "capital" is a social one. The coat one wears and the New York Central Railroad are both "crystallized labor," but the former is not an instrument of production, while the other is. Capital is an instrument of production held by private hands, powerful enough to defy competition by less powerful instruments, and to subject to wage slavery those wholly bereft of instruments of production. Consequently the coat is not capital, and the N. Y. Central is. Allow Consuelo, the Duchess of Marlborough, together with the few others who hold the controlling stock of that road, to become angels in heaven, playing on golden harps, prevent any other such from stepping into their shoes, and cause the road to become the property of the people, to be run for use and not for private profit—and the result would be that these capitalists will have vanished, together with the old capital feature of the road. The instrument of production continues to exist, but "capital," that purely social feature of it, vanishes with the social system that removes the capitalist.

The purpose, however, of the passage from the "Journal" is to confuse the issue by a pretense of "radicalism" as to conceal its purpose of wishing to perpetuate the evil of capitalism. This fact transpires in its closing remarks, which seek to make a distinction between the "fat, green worms on the tomato vine." Yet, they are all alike. No capitalist does any sort of work that society would not be better off for his not doing. No capitalist is useful. Without exception, the capitalist is a parasite who lives on the labor of others, and, as such, degrades the real laborers by keeping them in subjection to his will, doing his bidding—however wrong or right—lest they be thrown out of work.

Of this fact, illustrations are as nu-

merous as there are capitalists, but the passage in hand furnishes palpitating one at hand. The gentleman who wrote that passage is an employé of the "Journal," i. e., of Mr. Hearst. Mr. Hearst is the capitalist in question. He keeps his "editor" in the wage slave state. Any time his editor ceases to edit as Hearst wants, Hearst will buy another "gold brick" and kick the present one out. In the meantime Hearst is "encouraging and supplying effort," i. e., living on the sweat of the brow of his wage slaves—editors, compositors, newsboys, etc., etc.

Bishop Potter certainly twaddles, but his "Journal" critic goes the Bishop one better.

As men become intelligent, the whole "fat, green worm" class on the "tomato vine" of production will vanish; and with that will vanish the saddest of all spectacles—the spectacle presented by intellectual prostitution.

At last an answer has been vouchsafed to the numerous questions put in these columns to the agitators for the referendum under the present social system. To the statement that it is absurd to demand of the workers, who, today, have to spend most of their time in earning a living, that they give judgment on the complicated laws that the conflicting interests of our capitalist society breeds, and to the question, What ability would the majority of voters, so circumstanced, have to understand such laws and intelligently pass upon them the Alva, Douglas County, Mo., "Farm Record" retorts:

"It is no more 'absurd' to ask the voter to give judgment on the complicated laws that are passed than it is to ask a jury to decide in a complicated legal technicality."

A more welcome retort to help illustrate and emphasize our point could not be wished for.

In the first place, juries do not decide on legal technicalities, complicated or otherwise. Juries only decide on facts, the Court decides all legal points. The only exception to this is in cases of criminal libel, when the jury decides both the facts and the law, and even there the exception is more in seeming than actually so. Criminal libels involve questions of fact essentially.

This would be a sufficient rejoinder to our Alva objector: anybody, unless he be an idiot, can decide on facts, they need no research, they do not branch off and out into connection with all manner of things, as laws do. But we shall go further, and for the sake of argument, admit that the passing upon facts needs as much preparation and leisure as the passing upon laws. And here it is that the objector's argument helps to illustrate and emphasize our point:

The jury is afforded exactly the thing that the referendum itself does not afford the working class, and why the jury can and the worker cannot "pass upon." That thing is time and leisure. It is essential to the giving of judgment upon a thing that one enjoy leisure to post himself upon it. The jury is given such leisure. It is even paid, however small a fee; if the case be long and they are locked up, they need not worry about where the rent is to come from for their lodging, the money for their meals, etc.; in not a few cases they need not even worry about the charge of drinks: "jury whiskey" is provided for. Their material needs being attended to by others than themselves, and their whole time, for the time being at the disposal of the case before them, and all the information needed being furnished to them gratis, the jury is in a condition to "pass upon."

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Not so the workers, if called upon to pass upon the laws submitted to them by the referendum. As pointed out, the capitalist system keeps the workers with their noses to the grindstone for a bare existence. The referendum idea, indeed, is a denial or ignorance of the stupendous fact that, under this capitalist system, civilization, i. e., the raising of man above the brute's state of having his whole mind engrossed with the thought of a living, does not fall to the lot of the working class; despite the enormous, freedom-from-toil-giving amount of wealth produced, and the still more enormous amount producible to-day, the masses are not raised above the curse of arduous toil into the heavens of leisure. They must spend their time in producing what they need, and hardly succeed in that. Such is their lot from one election or referendum day to the other. Whence is the time to come to devote to the acquirement of the necessary information to pass upon the complicated laws of to-day? whence is the money to come to furnish them with all the documents needed?

Let the referendum idolaters take the tip, inadvertently furnished against itself by the "Farm Record," and just picture to themselves the degree of information that jurymen would be equipped with on the day of rendering his verdict if, all along, he had had to spend his whole time delving and mauling for a living. Identical would be the condition of the workers at the hustings if to-day they had to pass, by referendum, on the complicated sort of laws that emanate from capitalist legislation.

The referendum, as proposed by the "Reformers," is an absurdity; the nearer one contemplates it, the more absurd it looks.

TOASTS.

From a Dinner Given to M. M. Hyndman in London.

At a recent dinner, given in honor of H. M. Hyndman, a leading Socialist in England, and at which representatives of all nations and of many shades of the age were present, many apt speeches were made in response to toasts. The most telling passages among them were these:

MR. A. E. FLETCHER, THE CHAIRMAN, said: We do not propose to-night to trouble you with what are known among the Philistines as "loyal and patriotic" toasts. (Hear, hear.) Not that we are either disloyal or unpatriotic, but because we have met to welcome a leader of Democracy whose work and influence we regard as of far greater importance than that of the representatives of institutions whose life is in the past rather than in the future. As Democrats—no matter of what particular species of that some what comprehensive genus we belong—we are, or ought to be, before all things courteous, before all things tolerant of the feelings and the opinions of others. (Hear, hear.) We try—not always with success—even to love our enemies, however much we may hate their opinions and their methods. Therefore, we should be the last people in the world to offer any discourtesy to the sovereign lady at the head of the State. We are even willing to admit that she has done less mischief than any of her predecessors on the throne. (Laughter.) Nor have we any grudge against the houses of Parliament, excepting that we think that one might very well be ended and the other mended. (Applause.) As for the army and navy, we share the admiration of the nursesmaids of Britain for the gallant members of those services, and the best that we can wish them is that they may all soon be relegated to the ranks of the unemployed. (Hear, hear.) For the bishops and clergy of all denominations we have no feelings but those of compassion, and regret that so few of them have the pluck to follow the lead of the able and devoted Churchman on my right (the Rev. Stewart Headlam). Perhaps I might be excused if I made some innovation to-night in proposing to you the health of the police—(laughter)—because the police, to whom Mr. Hyndman and other dangerous persons are well known, have done considerable service to the Democracy from time to time by giving, in Trafalgar Square and elsewhere, object lessons in the great Democratic doctrine that force is no remedy against the champions of just discontent and the advocates of a righteous course. (Applause.) Mr. and Mrs. Hyndman must be particularly gratified to see around them to-night so many public leaders who have fought nobly in the cause which they have at heart, however different may have been their methods—men and women who have, like Mr. Hyndman himself, made great sacrifices for the cause of civil and religious liberty, and who have fought great battles against monopoly and privilege; men and women whose one watchword has been "Service," and who have caught their inspiration, not from sovereign and statesmen, not from the leaders of society, and not from the dispensers of patronage, but from the poets and the prophets of the century—from Shelley and Mazini, from Ruskin and Morris—(applause)—from Lassalle and Karl Marx, from Lowell and Whitman, from Ibsen and Tolstoi. (Applause.) Not a few of such public leaders, at the beginning of their career, like Mr. Hyndman himself, were laughed at as impractical dreamers, as mere cranks, as leaders without a following, as men who could best be compared with the Irish recruit who swore that every man in the regiment was out of step except himself. (Laughter.) But what do we see to-day? We see that the rank and file of serious reformers, social, economic, political, religious, are getting more and more into step, more and more into line, encouraging us to hope that one day they will be united enough, and strong enough to storm and to carry the last citadel preserved by the united forces of plutocracy and aristocracy. (Applause.) The signs of the times, notwithstanding the reaction in favor of Toryism and Jingolism, are in our favor. The omens of victory are settling on our banners. In America and in Europe, in Italy—(cheers)—in Austria, in Germany, even in Russia, in Norway, in the United Kingdom, the Democratic movement is undoubtedly growing from strength to strength, and making rapid and irresistible progress under the leadership of men who, like Mr. Hyndman, have devoted their splendid abilities and their untiring energy to educating the minds of their countrymen in those economic principles upon which alone can be based the permanent prosperity and the future happiness of mankind. (Applause.)

MR. DADABHAI NAROJI, among other good points made by him, said that the British people who made the greatest boast of progress in humanitarism, has yet a great deal to do before a real international solidarity was established. There was not yet even such a thing as the solidarity of the British Empire. The British Empire consists mainly of India. If there were no India in it the British Empire would be a mere dream. (Laughter and "Hear, hear.")

MR. TOM MANN, of the "longshoremen," contrasted the attitude of the workers fifteen or twenty years ago with their attitude to-day on the question of internationalism. There was then no such thing as an international spirit. Each workman fought for his own hand. Among the trade-unionists and the co-operators there was no international aspiration—notching but the narrow, selfish, plutocratic desire to obtain control of things and to add to the prestige of Britain. Their desire was the desire of the average thick-headed Englishman of to-day. They had no thought of the necessity of shaking hands with the French or German workman. The workers of other countries were simply wretched foreigners, altogether inferior to them, their trade rivals. They looked upon them and spoke of them with contempt. Poor devils! They knew no better, because their wretched teachers, being blind, had led them into the ditch.

Now, however, the workers recognized that the foreign workman was not an enemy, but a friend to be taken by the hand; that the workers of all countries must unite, and fight shoulder to shoulder to get their own. They had fought in the past nationally and in sections, and their labor had been largely in vain.

THE REV. STEWART HEADLAM remarked that there were all sorts of Socialists. He personally learned his Socialism more than thirty years ago from Frederick Denison Maurice and Charles Kingsley. (Applause.) There were Socialists now who were permutations. (Laughter and "Hear, hear.")

There were Socialists who felt that they could do the best kind of work by being members of various municipal bodies. They did that work in a humble fashion, remembering the advice of Mr. Michael Davitt many years ago—"Send your third-rate men to Parliament, because the real first-rate man can do better work outside." But there was no real difference between Christian Socialism and other Socialism except this, that a Christian Socialist is a Socialist who happens to be a Christian, and therefore, has certain motives for his work which other people have not; and he is able to appeal to the vast majority of the people who call themselves Christians, and urge them to put themselves in line with the teachings of the scientific Socialists. (Hear, hear.)



NEW BEDFORD REVIEW.

The Local Situation and Outlook After the Collapse of the Strike.

NEW BEDFORD, May 30.—The New Bedford strike is over, and the workers are tasting the bitter fruits of defeat as a result of their faith in pure and simplem. Some of them are plunged in quagmire of pessimism. They are the ones who have not yet embraced the new trades unionism. On the other hand, the S. T. & L. A. men have come out of the fight not like their class-unconscious brothers, with the damp of despair on their brow, but with every fiber of their being tingling with hope. The old trades unionists are marching in the darkness of night 'midst the shadows of the willow trees of defeat. The new trades unionists have their faces set to the rising sun, radiant with hope for the future. Old trades unionism in this fight has been thoroughly tried and tested with most disastrous results to the workers. They have been compelled to submit to everything the manufacturers demanded. Not the faintest concession has been made. Thoroughly defeated they have returned to work. But they are thinking as they never thought before. It thus follows that our movement is growing on all sides. Every Local Alliance that we organized during the strike has more than doubled in membership, and we are reaching out for more. I might say here that New Bedford is built like a dumb-bell, the congested part at both ends. The workers are massed at two extreme points. The North end and the South end, while in the center of the dumb-bell, as it were, is the plutocracy and the business quarter.

Seven months ago there was a German Section in the North end. That was all the organized force in the town. About that time Comrade Hancock and a few other English-speaking Comrades organized an American Section, and right here there is food for reflection, in the remarks of Comrade Hancock at the City Hall meeting, for many of our sympathizers in different parts of the country who do not organize or do not push their organization on the plea that "the people are not ready yet." "We must wait a few years until conditions grow worse," etc. He said: "When we organized seven months ago we did not think that we would grow strong enough to put a Congressional ticket in the field for some years. But the strike came along, we having the nucleus of an organization, we were able to gather into our fold all the disaffected thinking workmen, who were taught by the strike that they had to change their line of action from the old trades union to the new, from the old parties to the S. L. P. We were further able to send to New York and to the State Committee for assistance, with the result that we have accomplished more in six months than we thought possible in six years."

There is a great lesson to be learned from these remarks. The law of depreciation works as inexorably in the capitalist system as the law of gravitation. Hence a New Bedford strike may occur at any moment in any part of the country. Our Comrades should be ready to take advantage of it. The New Bedford Comrades have this to show for their short work here. A newly organized American Section of 62 members in the South end; the North end has jumped from 20 to 110, and has sent two delegates to the State Convention on a basis of representation of one delegate for every fifty members in good standing, thus showing that they are all paid up. There are here four locals and a District Alliance with a membership of over 400, and growing with leaps and bounds. Organization of the Alliance is thoroughly perfected, and the Comrades are working with a spirit of emulation and esprit de corps worthy of Napoleon's old guard. It is no fair tale or dream that is given utterance to when our New Bedford Comrades say: "THE NEXT STRIKE IN NEW BEDFORD WILL BE CONDUCTED BY THE SOCIALIST TRADE & LABOR ALLIANCE."

Why should it not be so? Old trades unionism has been so thoroughly shown up here that the blindest of the workers are seeing it in its true light. Their leaders have been so decisively thrashed and shown up as fools or knaves by the Socialists that we stand out in a great white light by contrast. Grimaldi, the great English clown, whose antics were so indescribably funny that the London populace was moved to laughter, even when he appeared on the street, could not in his palmiest days hold a candle to Sam Gompers in the estimation of the people of New Bedford. Everywhere they laugh at Mr. "Go." When the weaver finds the love light leaving his wife's eyes as she thinks over her miserable lot, he has only to tell her of Mr. "Go." to see the smiles break out on her worn cheeks as she thinks of the great mogul of the A. F. of L. and his disappearing coat tails as he went to "catch that train." When the child of an ex-worker is naughty, as even poor strikers' children sometimes be, the father will tell the little tot that if he does not improve he will grow up to be as mean as Mr. "Go." a consummation that the child certainly does not wish for.

To make matters worse for the A. F. of L. its officers seem to strive with all their power to make the tapeworm even more ridiculous, if such were possible. For instance, the A. F. of L. has decided to boycott cash registers. Hereafter the poor weaver's wife, as she returns from the grocery store with a two-cent bundle of wood in her apron, if she invests in a seventy-five dollar cash register the whole power of the A. F. of L. will be turned on her to crush her. The Central Labor Union of Lynn, sick though it was of the stupidity of the A. F. of L. officers, has continued to affiliate with the A. F. of L. and, from long experience were ready to almost any thing from that source, but the cash register proposition was the straw that broke the camel's back. They looked at the proposal, thought over it, sent back their charter to the A. F. of L. and, gave one great groan and died.

A parallel case is that of the Central Labor Union of Fall River. They sent a letter to Comrade Skahan, of New Bedford, our candidate for Congress, asking him if he was in favor of postal

savings banks. Fancy post office savings banks for the starving strikers of New Bedford, men who in the majority of cases will not be out of debt for the next three years as a result of their 15 weeks' idleness.

These sample cases of crass stupidity or worse could be multiplied indefinitely, but I have neither time, space or patience to bother with them. Enough to show how necessary it is for the Socialists to erect a new trades union movement that will be a fortress behind which the proletariat can entrench itself to carry on the daily class struggle instead of the card board structure of the pure and simple.

This strike has taught a great many lessons to the observing man. For instance, when the gates were opened for the admission of scabs, the pulpits of all denominations showered advice on the heads of the workers, said advice being to the effect that no man has any right to interfere with another; let him go back to work if he wants to. This was a direct request from the pulpit to the strikers to stab it. Again, the grocers sent word to the soup houses that they would give no more food. The word was sent around from the politicians, close to Manufacturer Pierce, to the ruin sellers to advise all the strikers to go back. Mr. Pierce and all the other mill capitalists own "corporation houses," miserable shanties which the strikers hire from the companies, paying an exorbitant rent, thus the masters get back some more of their surplus value. A week before the gates were opened the strikers received notice to quit if they did not return to work. This, of course, meant instant surrender to the capitalist robber. This surrender to the capitalist robber. Thus the ownership of the workers' houses by the mill capitalists placed the manufacturers in such a position that they could have broken the strike any moment they wanted to. With all this intimidation, is it any wonder that the strikers gave in after a heroic struggle of 15 weeks for the weavers and 18 for the spinners?

So much for the great strike and the lesson it teaches. The conclusion is obvious. Organize in the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, thus receive the backing of a growing political labor party, built on the lines of class-conscious solidarity. Then strike where Pierce and all the other capitalist brigands are weakest—at the ballot box; wrest the political power from him and all his class; smite the labor fakir who runs on the Pierce ticket as hard as you would strike Pierce himself. Organized in that way, Pierce and Co. would not dare to outrage you as he does to-day. He would know that the direct result of such action would be the rolling up of such a vote in Massachusetts that the old Bay State would be in danger of falling into the hands of the revolutionary proletariat as a preliminary step towards the capturing of the public powers of the Nation by the working class.

On next Tuesday, the special election for Congress takes place in this district. The feeling is general that when the ballots are counted there will be a surprise for the capitalist and labor fakir crew.

THOS. A. HICKEY.

The Alfred Dolge "Profit Sharing" bankruptcy is developing more and more beauty spots on the "Profit Sharing" solution of the Labor Question.

A month or so ago, when the failure of the firm was first announced, we called attention to several of these beauty spots, among which was the helplessness of the "profit-sharing" employees to control the action of their "fellow workingman" and "fellow profit sharer"—the boss—when he wanted to speculate with their prospective share—and loosing it, and leave them whistling for their share, which was anyhow mythical enough.

Now new developments come up. Papers are now served by a bank to remove Alfred Dolge as one of the receivers on the ground of fraud, and the course the whole affair is taking is such that the "partners"—the "profit-sharing" workingmen and women of the concern are moving away wholesale from the village. The only thing that they find they share with their former "partner," the capitalist, is his disgrace—as the duped end of the swindle.

When the schedules are made up it will be interesting to know how much of the "shares" went to Prof. Green Goods, alias George Gunton, for the annual banquet speeches he used to deliver to the employees for the purpose of living to humbug them.

There are birds whispering about that the only "sharer" was this Green Goods. Can this be?

"The Right to be Lazy," a sparkling, and, withal, highly instructive work by Paul Lafargue, has appeared in the English language. The work was originally in French, it immediately was put into German, and, though very much belated, yet not too late it is just out in English. The English reading public, and especially those interested in the Social Question, owe the pleasure and profit they are now enabled to derive from this clever production, to Comrade Dr. Harriet E. Lothrop, of Boston, who undertook the translation and executed it with skill and neatness, and also to the enterprise, as well as devotion to the cause of popular education on the Social Question in America, of the International Publishing Company, that places it in the field.

The work is a 46 page pamphlet, that takes up the question of work from a new side; and from that quarter pours out broadside upon broadside upon a social system in which WORK, being the surest way to the enforced idleness and low revenue of the worker, assumes such a false and distorted shape in his mind, that it is clung to by him with a tenacity that raises it to the plane of an idol with him, and thereby pushes him ever lower.

The vast erudition of Lafargue, his deep penetration, and his grasp of the question, coupled to a genial style and imagery, that is peculiarly French, and to which Dr. Lothrop has done full justice, render the pamphlet the easiest sort of reading. Insensibly the reader becomes possessed of valuable information, that is furthermore valuable in that it points out the way for investigation and further observation. One is amused, edified and instructed all in one.

Apply to Labor News Co., 64 E. 4th street, N. Y., or to International Publishing Co., 23 Duane street, N. Y. Price 10 cents.

FRENCH COMRADES.

(Continued from Page 1.)

and the Clericals) had flooded the district. This candidate, yesterday without our resources, to-day so prodigal, has placarded his bills by thousands throughout the district. He has at his service twenty-four bill posters escorted by forty superintendents, and every one of these eighty-four men is attached to the police department and is now on leave of absence. Never in the history of the Republic has official pressure reached such a degree of infamy.

"Against such a force of men the four bill posters of the committee that had Gerault-Richard's campaign in charge could not compete. Against the one hundred thousand bills with which this protege of the capitalists covered every wall in the district, they only succeeded in getting up two thousand. And it is under such conditions that we have had to fight this battle.

As Gerault-Richard was passing the factory, the posters in the pay of Bernard and the government were in the act of covering up the only three bills that were left to announce the next speech of the Socialist candidate. Gerault-Richard protested against this high-handed procedure and did what any other man would have done—tore off and destroyed Bernard's bills. "Surely," he said, "among the three hundred bills for which there is place you will leave me room for three." Immediately one of the police detectives that accompanied Bernard's posters ran to the nearest police station and instructed four policemen to arrest Gerault-Richard, who very quietly told the officers to mind their own business. The detective insisted that the police proceed with the arrest and told them plainly: "You know that you are supposed to arrest him, and it will go hard with you if you do not."

The crowd, which by this time had become large and excited, took the part of the Socialist candidate, and began to hiss both the detective and the police. Gerault-Richard ended the exhibition by asking his friends to disperse, and said to the functionaries of the government who were about to take him into custody: "I forbid you to speak to me. Your duty is to run Bernard's campaign, and to do that you have to destroy my announcements. Do that, but I defy you to touch me, even with the ends of your fingers." With these words he left the gang to meet the gendarmes and railyards of the passers-by as beat they could."

This incident is an indication of the methods which the capitalist government of France has had to resort to in order to attempt to keep down the Socialist vote. What occurred in this district of Paris occurred in every other district and at every place in France where the Socialists were anyways strong.

THE SOCIALIST DOCUMENT.

The final appeal of the Socialist Labor party through its press was in the following words:

"Citizens, vote—

"To conquer the political power, which will be the instrument to effect your economic emancipation;

"To better your condition under the capitalist regime by continual reforms;

"To defend your class interests;

"To defend the trades union liberties that you now enjoy, and to snatch new liberties from the capitalist government;

"To defend the liberties of the public against the coalition of your exploiters, the Clericals, the Nobles, the Royalists, and the Cesareans;

"To prepare for and hasten the Socialist regime, which, assuring to each the entire product of his labor, will establish equality between all men.

"Proletarians of the farm, the office, the store, the shop, and the factory,

"ELECT THE SOCIALISTS!"

"To refrain from voting is to desert the fight.

"To vote for the capitalist candidates is to forge your own chains.

"To vote for the Socialists is to take a step toward the Socialist Republic."

The result of this magnificent agitation resulted in the increased vote above indicated. Owing to the coalition of all the anti-Socialist elements and the unlimited and open use of money and intimidation at Carmaux and Roubalix, Jaurès and Guesde were defeated. At Carmaux, Jaurès received 5,515 votes against 6,702 for the capitalist candidate de Solages.

At Roubalix, Guesde received 7,971 votes against 11,247 for the capitalist candidate Motte.

Some very interesting incidents have developed over the defeat of these two war horses of the Socialist Labor party of France. Next week we shall give the expressions of the leading French Socialists regarding the defeat of the two most prominent figures in the movement, as well as some additional facts regarding the nature of the defeat.

In Paris 203,159 votes were cast for the Socialists. On the first ballot nineteen out of the forty-six delegates to which Paris is entitled were chosen. Out of the nineteen, seven were Socialists.

In the Thirteenth arrondissement of Paris, Gerault-Richard, the editor of the "Petite République," received 2,914 votes against 2,308 for Bernard and 1,362 for Dupré, an Opportunist. A second election was necessary. I have not yet learned whether the Socialist was defeated or not. The probability is that he was, for naturally the vote of the Opportunist would go to Bernard. Gerault-Richard was one of the three—Jaurès, Guesde, and Gerault-Richard—that the capitalist coalition was bound to defeat.

J. P.

May 28.

The numerous calls that have come in for the New Bedford speech "What Means This Strike?" published in these columns a few weeks ago, has determined the National Executive Committee to reprint it in pamphlet form. It can be had at the Labor News Company, 64 E. 4th street, this city. Single copies, 5 cents; 10 copies, 30 cents; 100 copies, \$2.50.

MILWAUKEE, WIS.

Comrade J. Rummel, 110 18th street, is authorized agent. All subscribers in arrears are requested to settle with him at once.

The receipt of a sample copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

CORRESPONDENCE.

[Correspondents who prefer to appear in print under an assumed name, will attach such name to their communication, besides their own signature and address. None other will be recognized.]

Queer Things in Arkansas.

To THE PEOPLE.—I have, since a little time back, tried my best to organize a Section of the Socialist Labor party here. But the times, and conditions affecting the people were not ripe yet. Most of those that were willing to be organized, were of the principle objected to public control of land and industrial organization. They were willing enough to accept the rest of the platform. Is not such condition of mind significant? But even the rest of the platform they objected to in spots. For instance, they objected to the equal suffrage of many others object to the immigration plank.

While my agitation was encountering these difficulties, toward Spring there came the old populist war-horses along with their "thunder." Between that and the war bluster, all attention is now drawn away again from the field so long that the voters depend on them like the mules do, on a driver.

The best we can do is to sit on a hammer away. The old farmers here have the field so long that the voters depend on them like the mules do, on a driver.

There is an odd show going on just now. The populist candidate for Senator in this district issued an address to the voters, among the most raking passages of the address are these:

"If elected, I promise to be a faithful servant of the people."

"I pledge myself to be faithful to the trust reposed in me."

"I will represent the whole people," etc.

Such a show! I say. He has been doing the same thing for years. Not hardly, his address out when out came the address of his Democratic opponents, and what does this address contain but exactly the same thing that the other does. I am trying to use the two to show the people how these two parties are alike in their aims and their aims and their foundations are exactly alike. In the meantime, the two candidates are accusing each other before the voters of being dishonest. Each claims that the other "stole his thunder." What "thunder"? The chickens have come home to roost.

T. W. Hanover, P. O., Ark., May 28.

The Seidenberg Spectre Casts a New Shadow.

To THE PEOPLE.—In crossing a street of New York recently, I happened to come across a picket of the International Cigar Makers' Union. The sight brought very forcibly to my mind a certain passage in a recent letter, by Mr. L. J. Bennett, which referred to the Seidenberg strike and picketing in the "N. Y. Volkswagen" of April 1, 1898.

Mr. Bennett says there: "BUT IT MUST BE STATED HERE, THAT THE PICKETS ARE NEVER APPOINTED FOR THE TIME THAT THE STRIKE LASTS, BUT ARE TAKEN FROM THE LINE OF UNEMPLOYED."

The sight that I saw when I ran across that picket contrasted strongly with this statement of Bennett. I could only see the old familiar faces of the men on picket duty.

There was on the picket not ONE "unemployed." Instead of that, there were: 1. BENEDICT HIMSELF—a MANUFACTURER; 2. M. DALE—MANUFACTURER; 3. M. DALE—MANUFACTURER. Besides these, there were others, who are not manufacturers, but who have a steady job from the International Union of some kind or other. There is, for instance, JOSE VOCAL, who has been Secretary of the U. U. M. with \$12 a week, and one ROSENSTEIN and ASH, who, for the few days he has been here, have been working at the International Union of cigar makers. In this office he left the gang to meet the gendarmes and its railyards of the passing-by as beat they could."

I should not forget from the list one KUHL, a member of No. 90, and of the famous Bohemian paper "Hilar Lids." He has been doing "picket duty" for the last 15 years. This Kuhl is the only one who comes nearest to Mr. Bennett's statement about only the "unemployed" being taken for picket duty: HE NEVER WORKS EXCEPT WHEN THERE IS NO STRIKE, the moment there is a strike he is on picket duty.

RUDOLPH KATZ, Member of the I. C. M. U., New York, May 31.

B. C. C., S. D. and S. L. P. in the State of Washington.

To THE PEOPLE.—Matt Mastison was in town yesterday; he is a B. C. C. (Brotherhood of the Co-operative Commonwealth)—a "colony fella." He is well meaning, but with very just ideas of Socialism.

The "Social Democrats" are making up their minds to do this.

To defend the trades union liberties that you now enjoy, and to snatch new liberties from the capitalist government;

To defend the liberties of the public against the coalition of your exploiters, the Clericals, the Nobles, the Royalists, and the Cesareans;

To prepare for and hasten the Socialist regime, which, assuring to each the entire product of his labor, will establish equality between all men.

It is the intention of the Debts to put up a ticket this fall. The president of their local branch here, and another prominent one of their members went into the Fusion convention here this spring, and were prominent in it all the way through. We

THE DEBATE.

(Continued.)

NEW YORK CITY, April 24, 1898.
Debate of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union (A. F. of L.) versus the General Council of Shoe Workers (S. T. & L. A.), at Teutonia Hall, 16th street and 3rd avenue, New York City, April 24, 1898.

Participants:
John F. Tobin, and
Frank A. Sieverman,
representing the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union;
William L. Brower, and
Daniel De Leon,
representing the General Council of Shoe Workers.

The meeting was called to order by Miss Katie Pryor, Secretary of the General Council of Shoeworkers.

TOBIN: This is round two. Mr. De Leon has told you that Comrade Tobin voted for that scalawag Pomeroy at the American Federation of Labor, and he repudiates my action on that occasion because I happened to vote against the large mass of so-called fakirs. I want to explain that briefly, and say my reason was entirely different from the one Mr. De Leon intends to convey. I voted for him for the reason that the different trades had the right to vote for whoever they chose to represent them at that convention.

He tells you that certain men in this city have violated their obligation to their organization, and we must discipline those men. In other words, they have placed a fine on those men. They must pay a fine. That is another evidence of fakirism. When you find an organization telling its people that they must pay a fine of ten dollars or ten cents for each man because he scabbed it on them, you must take this belief that they pay this fund to add boodle for this organization, for the officers of the organization who do not report what they do with them money.

Now, some men have been referred to as fakirs. I want to tell you that there is a peculiar condition existing in New York, which you perhaps know, and that it is impossible if you come in here to get men who are identified with the Socialist Labor party movement. Because why? Because they must bow down to the will of the High Priest. The High Priest says these are the qualifications necessary to become a Socialist in New York, or you are not a consistent Socialist. In other words, when the High Chief of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, who, by the way, is the editor of THE PEOPLE, takes snuff everybody must sneeze. That is the philosophy of that. For that reason we have not got with us this afternoon a representative Socialist on our side of the platform. These men here did not sneeze when the snuff was taken and they have got out. (Applause by Modest, Casson, Winchewsky, Cahan, etc.) Some of them happened to be in the city to-day, and then we found that our field of operation in that line was quite limited indeed, and we were obliged to resort to this in order to have our side of the platform filled. No apology therefor.

Mr. Brower stated that the Cousin's vote was lost about five years ago because men were not loyal to the organization. That is only a guess, simply guesswork, because a man went out of the packing room into the Good-year room. Now, if these strikes that we order from day to day were based on that, we are going to lose every time; but it does not hinge upon that at all. It is more important than that.

De Leon wants me to substantiate a statement that he makes that Comrade Carter, of the Lynn Lasters, is class-conscious Socialist; and challenges me to deny that he is. I want to give you some evidence of his "class-consciousness."

Here is a proposed amendment to our constitution which he fathered, and I want you to mark the evidence of "class-consciousness" in this proposed amendment to our constitution. "Amend Article 17 by adding: 25 per cent. of all moneys received by the General Union shall be set aside for a fund to be used for manufacturing union-made shoes." (The class-conscious men do not believe in labels, and to-day we find that this meeting is advertised by a circular which has on it an imitation of the union label; but these people do not believe in labels at all; labels are of no use.) "When said fund amounts to \$5,000, the General Executive Board and General Officers shall start a manufactory, and shall have full power to decide on location, kind of shoes to be made and all details of conducting the business; also have power to hire money and do business the same as any first-class business concern." (Just imagine a first-class business concern with a capital of \$5,000 and the ability to borrow money!) "They shall keep ever in view the idea of producing the best possible shoes for the money, to the end that our stamp shall be a guarantee of a first-class article as well as a union-made one. If the above recommendation is not accepted, we recommend that all reference to a union stamp be stricken from our constitution." Signed by M. Grote, George Waddell, John Gibson, Fred. S. Carter, committee. This proposed resolution was offered by Comrade Carter, and I tell you that is an evidence of "class-consciousness"! It is about the ablest I have ever seen; and he further says if our Convention fails to adopt this amendment we must strike from our constitution all reference to a union stamp! He has got his solution of the labor problem in this little document; and if you do not accept it, you get out! That is an evidence of "class-consciousness," I say! It is the worst I have ever seen.

Now the International Congress has been referred to, and Comrade Sieverman has told you that we are entirely in line with the Internationalist Socialist and Trades Union Congress that met in London in 1896. I submit that we are doing exactly what that Congress states we should do, and we were represented in that Congress by our American delegates, Comrades Maguire, Sanial and Bechtold, and that is the resolution that was adopted, and it said: "Especially difference of political views should not be considered a reason for separate action in the economic struggle." Now that is the meat of all the resolutions adopted at that Congress, and it is entirely in harmony with our union. We are just in the most

reasonable line to take; that is the most reasonable line of action; and when we came to New York and saw this little Mutual Admiration Society, we see they are making no progress.

De Leon has a standard of measurement, set up in 1896, as follows: "You fellows up in Rochester are not in line; you are not thorough Socialists; your tactics are wrong, and the evidence is that your vote does not increase, while here in New York we are up all the time." Now, here in New York, let us measure the correctness of his tactics by the vote that the Socialists poll! I have adopted that yard stick; and we find, where our organizations exist, where we have the best organizations, there we have an increasing Socialist vote every time we go to the polls. Here in New York you have a stationary vote. Here, in a field where you have the greatest degree of the effects of the modern industrial system, confronting you at all times, and an opportunity to make Socialists every day, and where you have the National Executive Committee, you are unable to increase, from year to year, and in Rochester, with our incorrect tactics, if you please, we are enabled to make progress right along and our organization is on class-conscious lines. I will say that we are showing a much more substantial increase along those lines than you are. The men I have met here do not seem to have made any more progress than we have. We have good Socialists in Rochester and wherever our organizations are. (Applause.)

BROWER—Mr. Tobin said that the Faunce and Spinney strike was prior to the organization of the Boot and Shoe Workers. So did I. I still say that after they had their agreement in the City of Lynn, in the central organization, they violated that promise and took and organized scabs that took the places of members of the various independent organizations. (Voice: "Support that.") I will (showing two letters). And the gentleman who made that agreement was Mr. Eaton, of the Lasters' Union. Do you wish me to read this letter? I will give it to you: "We know what these people done in 1892." The most improved fakir could not improve on that. In 1892 these men scabbed it, and what of it? For five years the Shoe Council has been trying to get these shops and bring them into the fold of the labor movement, and they have made a most complete and signal failure; and because of that the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union. If we ask for the opportunity to try to do something for Lattemen's men, I say in common decency we should have your undivided co-operation and support, and if you agree with that sentiment that settles it. If you think, however, that we are justified in using up another three or four or five years trying to organize the unorganized, you will disagree with me, and you will say: "Sieverman, you and your Boot and Shoe Workers' Union have no place in this city; go back to the city of Rochester, where you are meeting with unqualified success."

I thank you shoemakers of the city of New York for your attention. If I never have a chance to see you anywhere else, I will be on the street corners some day talking the Socialism of the S. L. P. (Applause.)

DELEON: It is a great pity that the stenographer could not also stenograph a picture of Comrade Hickey's face when he was just now being referred to by Sieverman as testimony for Mr. Sieverman's false statements.

Now, I do not think it is necessary for me to take up my full time. We have driven them to the defensive; and in their defense they have resorted to personalities in the choicest fakir style, as in the matter of the flag, which I shall refer to presently.

They have argued well for us in that they have carefully left unanswered every point of importance that we made, as you surely will have noticed.

Not a word in answer to the Buffalo affair.—They dared not!

Not a word in answer to the lasters having refused to pay them dues.—They dared not!

Not a word in answer to Dan Harris' charge against their organizer Clark's siding with the employer at one of our strikes.—They dared not! (A Voice: "Hit 'em again")

Not a word in answer to their organization being exposed to capitalist political influences owing to its non-exclusion of capitalist-politicians by their leaders.—They dared not! Instead of that, they went on in magnificent style misquoting me and the International Congress. Did I not say clearly that we do not dictate the politics of the rank and file, but find it a necessity for the safety of the union that the fakirs be barred out by a clause forbidding any officer to take active part in capitalist or bourgeois parties?

Not a word in answer to our claim that the International Congress declares against all political parties of the bourgeoisie as not entitled to the workers' vote.—They dared not! Why, one of the men before me in this hall, who has been loudest in his applause of Tobin and Sieverman, had his organization of shoemakers pull out from us because we refused to give its president an endorsement as candidate for a political office.

Not a word in answer to the exposure of the impurity of the source of their organization and its pirate tactics of flying false colors.—They dared not!

And so on, all along the line. Instead of joining issue, they spent their time in what? Let's see.

They excuse themselves for the element they have here on this platform as their backers on the ground that they "could get nobody else." Which is to say: "If I can't get honorable men to stand up for me, I am all right if I can get dishonest men."

Sieverman says we celebrated their advent in '95, and asks what has transpired since that we now hold different language. That we celebrated their advent in '95 is an argument in our favor; it shows we were hopeful they would act properly, and were not going to oppose them without ground. What transpired since? We told you. They walked into New York and endeavored to destroy our work with the labor fakir Dan Harris as their chief fugleman; they sought thereby to profit by the dissensions they would raise through the economic rot they started to retail, and break the solid foundation for union that we had built in our endeavor to establish union,—and, mark you, WILL ESTABLISH UNION.

Mr. De Leon was kind enough to state that I wear this red button as a bait. The worthy Chairman of this meeting, Comrade Hickey, Comrade Balkam, who is a member of our party and was a candidate for election, they have all met me when they reached my city, and they have all done me credit to say that I work earnestly for the interest of the party. De Leon wanted to discredit me in your eyes; he was afraid I might say something which he would not like. Is it any wonder that we have men sitting here who were once affiliated with the S. L. P. and who had the independence to get out?

I further wish to say this, that the Boot and Shoe Workers' actions in this city since it has been in existence, if that is any criterion to go by, indicate that their progress will be very slow. I made the prediction on the platform

* These two interesting letters will be published at a later day.

in Boerum street, when the cigarmaker, Mr. Dan Harris, and a few more were allowed to talk, notwithstanding they interrupted me when I tried to show the weakness of the Boot and Shoe Workers from their own report, and expressed what the Shoe Workers of Brooklyn had to say about this new organization of Shoe Workers, namely, that they would soon go to pieces. When the Boot and Shoe Workers go through the number of fights that the General Council has gone through, we will then find out which side the honest shoemakers are on. We have stood the battle for five years, and wherever the Council has been established we can show a better condition of Shoe Workers than the Boot and Shoe Workers can now or will show in time to come.

Delegates of the Tobin organization go into the Central Labor Union and make statements. What are those statements? Statements that I, as an officer, for the purpose of a wine dinner, sold out a boycott. What is the truth? The C. L. U. itself declared the boycott off, because the people had the courage to go out and stand on new trades union lines.

They say we have nothing to show for the money that we get from our organization. The members get a report once a year, and they know exactly where the money goes, and they know whether it has been squandered one way or another. Next Sunday the Council has another meeting; and the meeting following the members of the various locals know just what money has been collected, how it has been spent, and everything else. (Applause.)

Mr. Tobin said that the

THE DAILY PEOPLE

\$50,000 FUND.

Amount Pledged down to June 1st, 1898.

\$4,575.

Delegates will please keep in mind the dates on which their payments fall due, as per printed list, and remit promptly. If any error appears on the list, correct with equal promptness.

THE DAILY PEOPLE COMMITTEE.

124 William St., N. Y.

Mass Meeting and Entertainment

GIVEN BY THE

Wendell Phillips Agitating Soc'y

For the purpose of raising a

CAMPAIGN FUND OF THE S. L. P.

on THURSDAY, June 9th, '98,

at 77-79 Essex St.

Speakers LUCILLE SANIAL, Wm. ELLIS, ANDREW

M. CONTERGIES, a Cuban, H. HUGHES of

Brooklyn, WRIGHT BROS. and the Window

Dramatic Co. will take part in the Entertainment.

Tickets, incl. Hatchecks, 10 Cts.

The Annual Meeting of the stockholders of the Barton Mfg. Co. for the election of directors for the ensuing year will be held at the office of the company, No. 21 Broadway, Manhattan, New York city, on the 21st day of June, 1898, at 1 o'clock in the afternoon.

E. E. BARTON, Secretary.

Dated, May 20th, 1898.

Trade and Societies Calendar.

Standing advertisements of Trades Unions and other Societies (not exceeding five lines) will be inserted under this heading hereafter at the rate of \$5.00 per annum.

Organizations should not lose such an opportunity of advertising their places of meeting.

Carl Bahm Club (Musicians Union)

Meetings every Tuesday at 10 a. m., 5th East 4th street, New York Labor Lyceum.

Business Secretary: Fred.

Central Labor Federation of New York (S. T. & L. A., D. A., N. C. & C. M.)

at 230 every Sunday afternoon at 5th East 4th street, New York City. All bona-fide trade and labor Unions should be represented. Communications are to be sent to the corresponding Secretary, Ernest Bohm, 64 East 4th street, New York City.

Cigarmakers' Progressive International Union No. 90, Office and Employment Bureau: 64 East 4th street—District I (Baltimore), 324 East 7th street, every Saturday at 1 p. m.—District II (German), at 215 Forsyth Street, meets every Saturday at 8 p. m.—District III (Italian), at 167 Avenue A every Saturday at 8 p. m.—District IV, meets at 107 West 4th street, every Saturday at 8 p. m. The Board of Supervisors meets every Tuesday at 1232 and averages

5 p. m.

Empire City Lodge (Mechanists), meets every 3d and 4th Wednesday evening at the Labor Lyceum, 64 East 4th street.

Secretary: PETER STAPLE.

German Waiters' Union of New York (Offices: 228 Bowery, Union Hall, 1st floor)

Meetings every Friday at 4 p. m. Board of Supervisors meets every Wednesday at 4 p. m. at the same hall.

Musical Protective Association No. 1028 (D. A. 49, S. T. & L. A., Headquarters: 79 East 4th street, Meetings every Friday at 8 o'clock noon. Fred. Hartmann, Pres.; Fred. Woll, corr. Secy., 79 East 4th St., J. S. Kring, Business agent.

Metal Spinners Union of New York and Vicinity meets every second and last Friday in the month at 8 o'clock at 231-233 E. 33d Street.

Section Essex County, S. L. P., meets the first Sunday in each month at 1 p. m. in the hall of "Essex County Socialist Club," 75 Spring Ave., Newark, N. J.

Scandinavian Section, S. L. P., Meets 2d and 4th Sunday of every month at 1530 o'clock a. m., at Teutonia Assembly Rooms, 120-122 Ave., New York City. Subscription orders taken for the Scand. Socialist Weekly, SCAND. AM. ARBETAREN.

Socialist Science Club, S. L. P., 35th A. D., S. E. Cor. of 4th Av. and 44th St. Open every evening. Regular business meeting every Friday.

Progressive Clothing Cutters & Trim. Union, L. A. 68 of S. T. & L. A.—Headquarters: 64 East 4th street, Labor Lyceum—Regular meeting every Thursday evening, at 8 P. M.

Workingmen's Children's Death Bene.

—End of the U. S. of America.

The Executive Committee of the Workingmen's Benevolent Fund meets every Monday evening in Teutonia Hall, 1st and 2nd Sts., Second Ave.

Financial Secretary: Heinrich Lachner, 125 East 8th street.

Arbeiter Kranken- und Sterbe-Kasse für die Ver. Staaten von Amerika.

WORKMEN'S Sick and Death Benefit Fund of the United States of America.

The above society was founded in the year 1884 by workingmen imbued with the spirit of solidarity and socialist thought. Its numerical strength, fatigued by the removal of its local branches with more than 16,000 male members, is rapidly increasing among workingmen who believe in the principles of the modern labor movement. Workingmen between 18 and 45 years of age may be admitted to membership in any of the branches, upon payment of a deposit of \$1.00 for the first class, and \$2.00 for the second class. Members belonging to the first class are entitled to a sick benefit of \$3.00 for 40 weeks and of \$4.50 for another 40 weeks whether continuous or with interruption. Members belonging to the second class receive under the same circumstances and in the same amount a sick benefit of \$2.00 in general, and a burial benefit of \$25.00 in general. The wife and the wives and unmarried daughters of members between 18 and 45 years of age may be admitted to the burial benefit upon payment of deposit of \$1.00. Monthly taxes are levied according to expenditures. In case of death, when no benefit exists, a new branch can be formed by 20 workingmen in good health, and members adhering to the above principles are invited to do so.

Address all communications to HENRY STAHL, Financial Secretary, 25-27 3rd Avenue, Room 63, New York City.

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